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Philosophical dimensions of pilgrimage: ziyarat in the context of Central Asian culture

The article is dedicated to the philosophical exploration of the practice of ziyarat, or pilgrimage to holy sites (mazars) in Central Asia. The discussion encompasses the concept of ziyarat as a multifaceted cultural and religious phenomenon that embodies profound philosophical ideas concerning humanity, the cosmos, and the transcendent. The analysis is grounded in systemic, phenomenological, comparative, historical-cultural, and ethnographic methodologies. The article scrutinizes the ontological, epistemological, and axiological dimensions of ziyarat, as well as its significance in the development of worldview, value systems, and cultural identities. Furthermore, mazars are examined with regard to their religious, cultural, social, and natural attributes. The authors emphasize the Sufi interpretation of the mazar as a maqam — a locus of spiritual engagement and communion with the saint. Contemporary philosophical perspectives on ziyarat are also considered, particularly in relation to globalization and intercultural dialogue. The article concludes that mazars in Central Asia and Kazakhstan represent a distinctive phenomenon wherein formidable cultural and social elements coalesce. These sacred sites of ziyarat serve not solely as expressions of religious obligation, but also as avenues for philosophical inquiry into existence, linked to the pursuit of truth and spiritual fulfillment.

Keywords: pilgrimage, sacred, profane, sacred geography, ontology, epistemology, axiology, ritual, symbol, Central Asia.

Introduction

Understanding the deep essence of the spiritual culture of a people requires going beyond the exclusively text-centric approach. Written sources, undoubtedly valuable, are unable to cover the fullness of human existence, leaving un verbalized layers of collective experience in obscurity. In this context, the phenomenon of worshipping mazars in Kazakhstan and Central Asia acquires special epistemological significance, being the key to understanding unique spiritual and ideological attitudes. Mazars, these sacred loci, have served as an object of veneration for centuries, embodying the continuity of tradition and the transcendental connection of generations. However, their interpretation is a complex methodological task that requires comprehension within the framework of a broad philosophical discourse. Modern research efforts are aimed at systematizing the accumulated empirical material and identifying the typological characteristics of mazars, reflecting the diversity of forms of the sacred and practices of interaction with it. The external architectural form of the mazar and the ritual actions performed in its space act as symbolic expressions of deep ontological ideas.

The relevance of the study of the mazars phenomenon is due to the need to deconstruct the ideological constructs of the Soviet period and objectively analyze their role in the life of society. In modern realities, the social and existential significance of mazars and related ritual practices is obvious. The study of this phenomenon allows not only to reconstruct traditional forms of worldview, but also to identify archetypal structures of the collective unconscious, hidden from superficial view. Analysis of the symbolism of mazars opens up the possibility of understanding fundamental existential issues related to death, immortality, and the connection of man with the transcendent.

Methods and materials

The study of the phenomenon of mazars as sacred spaces and the practice of ziyarat is based on a systemic, phenomenological, comparative, historical-cultural and ethnographic approach. The systemic approach examines mazars in the context of religious, cultural, social and natural aspects. The phenomenological method focuses on the subjective perception of believers. Comparative analysis reveals common and specific features of mazars in different regions. Historical and cultural analysis traces the transformation of their role from pre-Islamic times to the present day. The ethnographic approach studies the perception of mazars

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through the prism of traditional culture, relying on descriptions of rituals and ethnographic literature. The study uses works on religious studies, cultural studies, philosophy, anthropology and ethnography, medieval texts, archival materials, cartographic and visual sources. A comprehensive approach provides an understanding of the role of mazars in religious and cultural life, their symbolic and social significance.

Results and discussion

Sacred spaces, being a universal phenomenon of human culture, manifest themselves in a variety of forms and have existed throughout the history of mankind. Their ontological status lies in the fact that they are perceived as points of intersection of the profane and the sacred, places of theurgic contact of man with the transcendent. Functionally, sacred spaces act as centers of crystallization of religious experience, contributing to the formation and maintenance of the collective identity of believers.

The concept of “place of worship” means “a place of mass or individual visitation, where believers express respect (worship) to a supernatural power, trying to enlist its support in solving their problems” [1]. In essence, it is a symbolically loaded space where communication with another reality takes place. This can be either an individual mystical experience or a collective ritual action aimed at establishing a connection with higher powers. In semiotic terms, the term “place of worship” is interchangeable with such concepts as “shrine”, “sanctuary”, “cult object”, “revered or holy place”, “pilgrimage site” — all of them reflect the idea of the presence of the sacred in the profane world. As Ogudin notes, it is also “a place where a certain supernatural force resides...” and “a place where they express respect (worship) to a supernatural force that is simultaneously everywhere, and not only in a specific object” [1].

Phenomenologically, a “place of worship” can be defined as:

1. An epiphanic space where, in Ogudin’s words, “communion with the manifestation of higher powers manifested here” occurs;
2. A locus of power, “where a person tries to enlist [supernatural power] support to solve his problems”;
3. A symbolic center that focuses religious consciousness and serves as a guide to the world of the sacred.

The methods of interaction with the sacred in these spaces, including “protection of the protected area... offerings things and food, votive objects, making sacrifices, performing rituals, reading prayers, etc.” [1], vary from protection and veneration to complex ritual practices. All of them are forms of symbolic communication aimed at establishing harmony between man and the cosmos.

“Places of worship are located only in territories of traditional nature management...” [1]. From the point of view of the anthropology of space, they are always localized in a cultivated landscape, regardless of the degree of its transformation — from “natural, not subject to changes by man (springs, lakes, caves, mountain peaks, etc.)” to “completely changed, where traces of nature are barely discernible (for example, areas under temples)” [1]. In any case, they act as symbolic markers of the sacred in the profane world, forming a special sacred geography of the cultural landscape.

The typology of sacred spaces, dividing them into “natural” and “man-made”, reflects the deep anthropological dichotomy “nature — culture”, actualizing the philosophical question of the place of man in the universe and his interaction with the transcendent.

Natural (landscape) places of worship embody the idea of hierophany — the manifestation of the sacred in the natural world. They represent a pantheistic or animistic worldview, where nature itself is endowed with a spiritual essence. The sacralization of natural objects (mountains, water sources, trees) reflects archetypal ideas about the cosmos as a living organism, where each element has its own sacred meaning. Phenomenologically, the perception of such places is associated with a sense of the presence of a higher power, unity with nature, and mystical experience.

“Kadamzhai” (“place of the trace (of the saint)”), as a special case of natural places of worship, introduces an element of historicity and personalization of the sacred. The trace of the saint serves as a symbolic bridge between the earthly and the divine, an indicator of the path to spiritual enlightenment. The transformation of “kadamzhai” into “mazar” indicates a tendency towards the materialization of the sacred, its localization in a specific object — the grave of the saint. However, as Ogudin notes, the semantics of the term “mazar” is blurred, extending to natural objects not associated with burial [2]. This indicates a complex dialectic of the relationship between the natural and the man-made in the construction of sacred space.

Man-made (anthropogenic) places of worship represent the active role of man in the sacralization of space. Temples, mosques, tombs are not just architectural structures, but symbolic models of space that embody religious ideas and values. They serve as a place of collective worship, ritual practices, and spiritual

communication. The integration of natural elements into man-made sacred complexes testifies to the desire to harmonize the relationship between “nature and culture”, to synthesize the natural and the human in religious experience.

“Mazar”, as a man-made place of worship, associated with the cult of saints, embodies the idea of mediation between man and God. The saint, even after death, continues to be a spiritual mentor, a source of grace and protection. Worship of mazars reflects the deep human need for contact with the transcendent, for finding spiritual support.

The syncretism of traditional beliefs and Islam in the cult of mazars testifies to complex processes of cultural adaptation and transformation of religious ideas. The study of this phenomenon requires an interdisciplinary approach, synthesizing the methods of the history of religions, anthropology, philosophy, and cultural studies [3, 4]. Particular attention should be paid to the analysis of the symbolism and ritual practices associated with mazars, as the key to understanding their deep meaning and function in culture.

The semantic evolution of the term “mazar” reflects the complex processes of cultural and religious transformation in Central Asia. Initially meaning “grave”, this term acquired a broader sacred meaning, including not only Muslim shrines, but also places of worship of pre-Muslim cults adapted by Islam. This process of syncretism testifies to the dialectical interaction of various religious systems, their interpenetration and mutual influence. Regional variations of terminology (“gumbez”, “gumbaz”, “ostun”) emphasize the diversity of forms of sacralization of space and their connection with a specific cultural and historical context. Etymological analysis of the term “ostun” (Sogdian “uzd’n” — “grave”, Avestan “uzdana” / “azdana” — “dakhma” (bone depository)) points to the ancient Indo-Iranian roots of cult practices associated with the veneration of ancestors and the burial place [5]. The identity of the Tajik “oston” / “ostun” to the Arabic “mazar” confirms the semantic transformation of the concept from simply “grave” to “the revered grave of a saint”, that is, to a place endowed with a special sacred status.

The phenomenology of the “mazar” as a sacred space is characterized by a number of key features: its role as a center of collective gatherings, the practice of pilgrimage, sacrifice, ritual meal, specific rites and prayers addressed to the saint. The “mazar” becomes a place of meeting of man with the transcendent, where communication with another world takes place, where man seeks spiritual support and healing.

“Mazar”, whether a man-made tomb or a natural object sacralized by the presence of a saint, symbolizes the connection between the earthly and the heavenly, the human and the divine. It acts as a mediator between the profane and the sacred world, as a place of manifestation of divine grace.

In the Sufi tradition, the concept of “maqam” (Arabic: “stopping, halt”) denotes not only the burial place of a saint, but also the place of his spiritual manifestation, the place of possible mystical contact [2, 14]. “Maqam” symbolizes the stages of the spiritual path of a Sufi, his “stops” on the way to God. Thus, “mazar” and “maqam” represent different aspects of the same phenomenon — the sacralization of space and time in the context of religious experience.

Sufism, as a mystical movement in Islam, emphasizes the inner, spiritual path to God, gnosis and intuitive comprehension of truth. Asceticism and “heightened spirituality” of Sufis are aimed at overcoming the duality of “earthly — heavenly”, at achieving unity with the Divine. In this context, places of worship acquire special significance as symbolic points of contact with the transcendental, as spaces that facilitate mystical experience. Legends and stories about holy places, passed down from generation to generation, form the sacred geography and spiritual cartography of the Sufi tradition.

The study of places of worship requires a historical and philosophical approach that takes into account the evolution of religious ideas and practices in different eras. Ogudin identifies four historical periods to which literary sources containing information about places of worship belong: Muslim, colonial, Soviet and post-Soviet. Each of these periods contributes to the formation and interpretation of sacred geography. Ogudin notes an imbalance in the study of man-made and natural shrines: “Published materials mainly concern man-made shrines. Descriptions of natural cult sites are rare; they are poorly studied and in most cases were considered by scientists as a secondary element” [1; 158]. This disproportionality reflects the anthropocentric paradigm of scientific knowledge, the tendency to prioritize human activity in the formation of the cultural landscape. From the point of view of the philosophy of nature, it is important to overcome this imbalance and pay due attention to the study of the sacralization of natural objects, their role in the formation of religious worldviews and practices.

The diversity of genres in which information about places of worship is presented (“mentions, short messages, thematic stories and analytical reviews”) requires the development of a special methodology for their analysis and interpretation. It is important to take into account both the historical context of the text’s

creation and its genre specificity, the author's position, and the target audience. Philosophical analysis should be aimed at identifying the deep meanings and symbolic values associated with places of worship, and understanding their role in the formation of religious consciousness and cultural identity.

Philosophical reflection on the phenomenon of "places of worship" allows us to identify the complex dynamics of the sacred and the profane, the religious and the ideological within culture. The division of places of worship into "sacred" and "non-sacred" reflects different modalities of human attitudes to the transcendent. "Sacred places" such as arzhans, mazars, mosques, churches, chortens function as symbolic portals to the other world, as spaces for encounters with the divine. "Non-sacred places of worship" that emerged during the Soviet period (the Mausoleum, the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, monuments to Lenin) represent an attempt to secularize the sacred, replacing it with political and ideological symbols. The absence of traditional religious rituals in relation to these places emphasizes their artificial, ideologically constructed nature. The transformation of "Soviet shrines" after the collapse of the USSR testifies to the complex dialectic of the sacred and the profane, their constant interaction and mutual influence.

The concept of the "cult of saints" in Islam goes beyond the simple veneration of individual historical figures (khazrets). It includes a wide range of objects and practices endowed with sacred meaning: architecturally decorated mazars, "footprints" of khazrets (kadamjay), "oston" ("venerated grave of a saint"). Pilgrimage to holy places becomes a form of religious experience, a path to spiritual transformation.

The architectural appearance of holy places (crypts, mausoleums, worship spaces) and the ritual actions of pilgrims (prayers, tawaf, sacrifices) form a complex symbolic system reflecting religious ideas and values. The inclusion of natural objects (stones, trees, springs, rocks, caves) in the sacred complex of mazars testifies to the syncretism of Islamic and pre-Islamic traditions, the preservation of archaic forms of religiosity.

The sacralization of natural objects is based on their symbolic meaning. "Neither stones, nor trees, nor springs can be sacred in themselves. These objects are endowed with the status of sacredness if they symbolize something". The revelation of these symbolic meanings allows us to understand the deep meaning of pilgrimage and worship. The integration of pre-Islamic beliefs and practices into the Islamic tradition testifies to the viability and adaptability of religious systems, their ability to include various forms of spiritual experience. Mazars associated with the cult of the Hazrats become a symbol of this integration, reflecting the complex process of cultural and religious synthesis.

The formation of mazars as sacred spaces in the steppe and desert zones reflects the complex process of interaction between nomadic culture and religious beliefs. The veneration of literate people (mullahs) among nomads, where literacy was not widespread, testifies to the high status of knowledge and its connection with the sacred. The mullah's grave became a place of worship, symbolizing the continuity of tradition and access to spiritual wisdom. This practice, described by Akhmad Donish ("According to the customs of the Kazakhs... they worship him") [6], illustrates the process of sacralization of space and the formation of cult centers in a nomadic society.

The diversity of motivations for visiting shrines reflects the multifaceted nature of religious experience. Sufis, who seek mystical union with God, perceive mazars as places of spiritual contact with saints. Official Islam regulates the practice of visiting shrines, fitting it into the framework of dogma and ritual. Folk (everyday) Islam is characterized by the syncretism of pre-Islamic beliefs and Islamic practices, where saints are perceived as intermediaries between man and God, possessing miraculous powers. Popular festivities, uniting representatives of various religious movements, demonstrate the social function of shrines as centers of collective identity.

The presence of pre-Islamic symbols in the design of mazars (images of horns of mountain goats and rams) testifies to complex processes of cultural continuity and transformation of religious ideas. Mountain animals, close to the sky, symbolized the connection with the divine world, their horns are a symbol of strength and fertility. These archaic symbols, integrated into the Islamic tradition, testify to the deep connection of man with nature, its sacred perception. Mazars, as places of intersection of various cultural and religious layers, become a symbol of spiritual synthesis, reflecting the complex process of formation of religious consciousness and practice.

The horns of animals such as the mountain goat and the ram have long been perceived as sacred symbols with purifying and protective functions. This idea, deeply rooted in the collective memory of the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, dates back to the Paleolithic era. Over time, these beliefs were preserved and adapted, finding expression in various ritual practices and cultural forms. It is noteworthy that animal horns were often a significant attribute at or near mazars, highlighting their ritual and symbolic importance.

The localization of mazars in Central Asia and Kazakhstan reflects the archetypal ideas of ancient peoples about sacred space. This is especially true for places of worship located on hills or mountains, which were traditionally considered a link between the earthly and heavenly worlds. According to both Turkic and Iranian cultural traditions, mountains were perceived as places of sacred power. This idea is confirmed by the significant number of mountain sites known in the region for their sanctity. Such places become places of pilgrimage, which is explained by their special position in space and culture [7].

The phenomenon of pilgrimage to mazars, known as *ziyarat*, is a complex ritual that was finally formed by the 15th century. Already in this period, written descriptions of “holy” places appeared, emphasizing their legitimacy from the point of view of Sharia, describing the rules of visiting and providing information about the saints buried in these places. Such texts also record the miraculous properties of mazars, tell about the events associated with them, and list their cult features [8].

It should be noted that the rituals practiced at mazars are often genetically linked to archaic ideas and cults that predate Islam. Among them are circumambulation around the grave, touching sacred objects, and tying rags to trees or banners. These practices can be interpreted as attempts to establish a symbolic connection with the sacred, where the act of interacting with objects itself becomes a way of receiving grace.

Also of interest is the architectural division of mazars into “sacred” and “profane” zones. The first zone, intended for *ziyarat* rituals, preserves an atmosphere of holiness, while the second zone serves for sacrifices, overnight stays, and other everyday needs of pilgrims. Thus, the structure of mazars demonstrates the integration of the sacred and the secular, reflecting their dialectical relationship [9].

These observations highlight the philosophical significance of mazars as places where the past, present and sacred come together to form a unique space of interaction between cultural and religious meanings.

Ziyarat, the tradition of pilgrimage to sacred sites, is a complex phenomenon that encompasses not only physical action but also deeply rooted cultural motivations, intentions, and experiences. *Ziyarat* is often triggered by a dream, which is perceived as a symbolic message or instruction from ancestors or saints. Such a dream can be seen as an expression of a person’s psychological need for spiritual support and the search for harmony in difficult moments of life. In this context, dreams act as a mediator between the subconscious and cultural memory, motivating a person to act.

As V. Kristensen notes, the perception of religious rituals by each believer is unique, based on his personal experience and interpretation. “Religion is unique, as are its sacred rituals... No believer thinks of his religion or ritual as something primitive. From the moment we admit such a thought, we lose touch with our subject... The phenomena of the history of religion are the symbolic unfolding of the basic intuitions of the religious worldview” [10].

Ziyarat can be viewed as a multi-layered process that includes both sacred and everyday practices. Its origins lie in the tradition of visiting the graves of saints or sacred places, but it also includes deeper aspects: the search for truth, connection with ancestors, and the desire for spiritual purification. According to A. Muminov, *ziyarat* is not just a ritual, but a process that begins from the moment the believer realizes the need to visit the shrine [11].

The ritual actions that accompany *ziyarat* symbolically reflect a person’s desire to overcome the gap between the sacred and profane worlds. The path to the shrine itself, often associated with physical trials, represents a symbolic purification. Even the use of vehicles on part of the route does not diminish the need to walk the final kilometers, emphasizing the importance of personal effort and dedication.

An important element of *ziyarat* are the rituals performed directly at the mazar. Ablutions, reading prayers and Koranic texts, walking around and spending the night at the holy place — all of this has a symbolic meaning. For example, spending the night at the mazar, accompanied by attempts to interpret dreams, serves as an act of connection with the sacred and receiving divine revelation.

The practice of sacrifice and preparation of food for pilgrims also reflects the syncretic nature of *ziyarat*. Here one can see echoes of the ancient cult of the cauldron, in which the cauldron symbolized unity, transformation and connection with the feminine principle. Its significance in magical rituals shows the deep integration of material objects into the religious context of nomadic culture.

Of particular interest is the use of fire at the mazar, which historically played an important role in worship rituals. Lighting fires on graves and making sacrifices by means of fire are archaic practices that continue to exist within the framework of modern religious traditions of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. Studying them allows us to better understand the evolution of rituals and their philosophical significance as a symbolic act of purification and transformation.

Thus, ziyarat can be viewed as a dialectical process in which the sacred and the secular, the individual and the collective, the modern and the archaic are combined, reflecting the universal intuitions and cultural characteristics of the religious worldview.

Conclusion

Visiting holy places, or ziyarat, is a complex and multi-stage ritual that is deeply embedded in the spiritual life of the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. This rite includes not only elements of worship but also profound symbolic actions that express a person's desire for connection with a higher reality. Ziyarat can take different forms — from a spontaneous pilgrimage caused by a prophetic dream or life circumstances, to a regularly repeating cycle of visits timed to certain days of the week or calendar dates. These variations reflect not only the versatility of spiritual practices, but also their connection with the cultural and historical characteristics of the region.

Analyzing the rituals associated with ziyarat, it can be noted that they integrate the functions of spiritual purification, social interaction and cultural reproduction. Mazars, which serve as centers of such rituals, act not only as places of worship, but also as symbolic spaces connecting the material and spiritual worlds. They perform a variety of functions — from ritual and cult to burial, reflecting the interaction between religious traditions and ethnocultural identity. These sacred objects also play the role of institutions where spiritual and cultural values are supported and transmitted, ensuring the continuity of traditions.

From a philosophical point of view, the cult of saints and the veneration of holy places can be seen as a manifestation of the universal human need for the sacred. This is the desire to search for a higher meaning, expressed through the mediation of symbolic forms — be it the figure of a saint, a sacred ritual or the space of the mazar itself. Here, the key is the perception of holiness as an attribute not of a specific object, but as a reflection of the divine principle manifested through this object.

It is important to emphasize that the cult of saints in Islam, despite its external similarity to pre-Islamic forms of worship, does not contradict the monotheistic basis of religion. In the minds of believers, the power of saints is not their own property, but a gift given to them by Allah. Thus, the veneration of saints is perceived as a way to approach God through intermediaries whom He himself has endowed with special abilities.

The sacred significance of mazars is also manifested in their connection with natural objects such as mountains, springs or trees, which in the context of the traditional worldview act as signs indicating the presence of the divine. These objects become a kind of bridge between the earthly and the heavenly, between the finite and the infinite. For believers, visiting such places is not just an act of worship, but also a form of dialogue with the Absolute, experienced through specific symbols and actions.

Thus, the mazars of Central Asia and Kazakhstan represent a unique phenomenon that combines religious, cultural and social aspects. They serve as spaces where a person not only finds comfort and support, but also engages in a deeper understanding of his place in the world.

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Қажылықтың философиялық өлшемдері: Орталық Азия мәдениеті контексіндегі зиярат

Мақала Орталық Азиядағы қасиетті орындарға (мазарларға) қажылық–зиярат тәжірибесін философиялық тұрғыдан түсінуге арналған. Авторлар зиярат ұғымын Адам, Әлем және трансцендент туралы терең философиялық идеяларды бейнелейтін күрделі мәдени-діни құбылыс ретінде зерделеген. Жұмыс жүйелі, феноменологиялық, салыстырмалы, тарихи-мәдени және этнографиялық тәсілдерге негізделген. Мақалада зияраттың онтологиялық, эпистемологиялық және аксиологиялық аспектілері, оның дүниетанымды, құндылықтар жүйесін және мәдени бірегейлікті қалыптастырудағы рөлі талданған. Сонымен қатар, мазарларды діни, мәдени, әлеуметтік және табиғи сипатын ескере отырып қарастырған. Авторлар мазардың сопылық интерпретациясына, мақамға, рухани аядама және әулиемен кездесу орны ретінде ерекше назар аударады. Зияратты жаһандану және мәдениеттер диалогы контексінде түсінудің заманауи философиялық тәсілдері де талқыланды. Орталық Азия мен Қазақстандағы мазарлар қуатты, мәдени, әлеуметтік элементтер тоғысатын бірегей құбылыс деген қорытынды жасалған. Зияраттың бұл қасиетті орындары діни жауапкершілік ретінде ғана емес, ақиқат пен рухани жетілуді іздеумен байланысты болмысты философиялық тұрғыдан түсіну тәсілі ретінде де әрекет етеді.

Кілт сөздер: қажылық, қасиетті, пендешілік, қасиетті география, онтология, гносеология, аксиология, рәсім, символ, Орталық Азия.

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Философские измерения паломничества: зиярат в контексте центральноазиатской культуры

Статья посвящена философскому осмыслению практики зиярата — паломничества к святым местам (мазарам) в Центральной Азии. В работе рассматривается понятие зиярата как сложное культурно-религиозное явление, отражающее глубинные философские представления о человеке, мире и трансцендентном. Работа основана на системном, феноменологическом, сравнительно-сопоставительном, историко-культурном и этнографическом подходах. В статье анализируются онтологические, гносеологические и аксиологические аспекты зиярата, его роль в формировании мировоззрения, системы ценностей и культурной идентичности. Кроме того, мазары рассматриваются в работе с учетом их религиозного, культурного, социального и природного характера. Авторы уделяют особое внимание суфийской интерпретации мазара как макама — места духовной остановки и встречи с святым. Также рассматриваются современные философские подходы к осмыслению зиярата в контексте глобализации и диалога культур. Был сделан вывод о том, что мазары в Центральной Азии и Казахстане представляют собой уникальное явление, в котором переплетаются мощные, культурные, социальные элементы. Эти священные места зиярата выступают не только как религиозная ответственность, но и как способ философского осмысления бытия, связанный с поиском истины и духовного совершенства.

Ключевые слова: паломничество, священное, профанное, сакральная география, онтология, гносеология, аксиология, ритуал, символ, Центральная Азия.

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